

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDIRET FOREST

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(3)

| Korot          | Single men | Married men | Women | Male children | Female children | Total |
|----------------|------------|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| Kipkuron .. .. | 8          | 6           | 12    | 10            | 10              | 46    |
| Kipkur .. ..   | 21         | 15          | 26    | 18            | 15              | 105   |
| Kipkur .. ..   | 30         | 10          | 17    | 9             | 5               | 71    |
|                | 59         | 31          | 55    | 37            | 30              | 212   |

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SOURCE: Huntingford, 1939, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurish Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidor (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other hordes; nor are any other population figures available.

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PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurish, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timburon which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.00 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Usin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

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MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

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HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *muainonish*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

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[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

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AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only *eleusine*. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi. [241] [177] [139]

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *indawot*, pl. *indawotik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-bush is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work. [423] [236] [351] [345]

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious. [348]

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, *eleusine*, *paish*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *adokot*, and knives, *rotuot* or *camboluet*. [439]

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *inotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of *eleusine* and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and *eleusine* are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. *Eleusine* is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner. [351] [343] 262

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniak* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeyuot* (*ximenia americana*), and *sazuriot* (*musa ensata*, wild banana), the sap of the *sazuriot*, and leaves of nettle, *siuot*. [262] [177] [72]

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipheliniak* or *humik* *ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage" [273]

tree," retinas (kigila athiopia); and malyak, chousine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called inkemek.

#### TRADE AND EXCHANGE

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 81), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

- 1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
- 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
- 1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
- 1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
- 1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
- 1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck);
- 1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually dikker);
- 2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *metokit*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

#### CATTLE

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

|                      | Cattle | Goats | Dogs |
|----------------------|--------|-------|------|
| Koret of Kipkorom .. | 25     | 16    | 4    |
| Koret of Sonoyo ..   | 54     | 19    | 3    |
| Koret of Kelpai ..   | 11     | 0     | 0    |
|                      | 90     | 34    | 7    |

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

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patronymic from their father's surname. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

## Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926-30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*was*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

## Age-set

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Copiniak*, the senior; *Taperik* or *Kipakowek*, the middle; and *Ruwakaniak* or *Kiponiak*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own herds, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

## POLITICAL STRUCTURE

## Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*kowusak*, sing. *kowet*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

## The Clan

The clan, *owet*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiwed ap owet*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except *Moi* which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of *Moi*, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom *Moi* marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

<sup>1</sup> The Nandi occasionally use *taperik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

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side, adultery, and incest. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In case of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to amend his ways. Offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 54). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-klanmen.

## Summary

The Dorobo people consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

## MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

## CRAFTS

## Housing

(a) Forest type: the *koongel*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest consisting of three or four *koongel* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

## Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*laak*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisor. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

## Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

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## Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,<sup>1</sup> has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,<sup>2</sup> and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,<sup>3</sup> will tell you that they are Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

Waaanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

<sup>1</sup> The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

<sup>3</sup> Except Kiwahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kiteto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

101 possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost  
 114 their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one.  
 197 It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*,  
 though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their  
 true origin.

173 The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the  
 Kisongo<sup>1</sup> district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case,  
 as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of  
 country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the  
 Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now  
 • 177 are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and  
 breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more  
 [224] difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to  
 hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live  
 with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger  
 411 men have never led a bush life. They carry spears<sup>2</sup> (and,  
 when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of  
 the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

262 Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed  
 by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all out-  
 ward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively,  
 [231] generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained per-  
 mission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities  
 of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom  
 to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been  
 [492] loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen  
 will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of  
 Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit  
 186 shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add:  
 "We are now Masai again."

101 I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga*  
 174 are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously  
 unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga*  
 themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been  
 unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It  
 would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would  
 seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha.  
 (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

<sup>2</sup> The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake. 101 174

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths? 144 177

## II-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa <sup>1</sup> Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro. 101 173

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai), <sup>2</sup> and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa, <sup>3</sup> live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of 197 [95] 186 648 231

<sup>1</sup> *I-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle. [648]

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

23 | cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalagat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

• 101 | The *Kinyalagat* are now almost indistinguishable from the  
197 | Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished  
[888] | Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and  
101 | probably about the same time as the *Balagat*. They are good  
bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush  
life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalagat*  
elder of the 'L-aimer age' named Mwanamsunde lives at  
Mtambako on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the  
oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though  
he is termed *Ol-sigwenani*<sup>1</sup> by courtesy. He speaks no  
language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balagat* or the  
*Kinyalagat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and  
the latter 'Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put  
forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been  
diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated.  
It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balagat* and the *Kinyalagat*  
are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I  
agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and  
not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the  
*Balagat* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through  
force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to  
keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they  
had before them the example of the people with whom it is  
now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be  
called Dorobo.

#### *Il-Mósiro ; Il-Médiak ; Il-Kisanhassa*

The three names given above would seem to denote one and  
the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any  
difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have  
met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come  
across an individual calling himself *Kisanhassa*. I am inclined  
to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both  
of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

<sup>1</sup> Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.

<sup>2</sup> Spokesman or Counsellor.

252 duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsome-ness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

648 The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

231 When a *Mósiro* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiro* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

241 A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiro* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

229 In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiro*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiro* has at his command an extensive

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird<sup>1</sup> in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee*<sup>2</sup> which every *Mósiro* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment<sup>3</sup> of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and 'surutya earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

<sup>1</sup> *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sepo*; the Masai call it *En-jakéroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandoo*; the Nandi, *Chéphache*.

<sup>2</sup> See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

<sup>3</sup> *Of-okekena* (Masai).

301 be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The  
 302 *Mésiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in  
 shaving their heads.

• [197] The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing  
 pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted  
 to the use of *Ol-kária*<sup>1</sup> and will, in time, be absorbed by the  
 231 Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various  
 Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a  
 pastoral life with their own small herds.

197 All the *Mésiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very  
 imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mésiro*  
 tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi  
 tell me that the language spoken by the *Mésiro* to-day seems  
 vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the  
 lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity  
 there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk  
 and *Mésiro* tongues.

[197] The language of the *Mésiro* is dying, as any language except  
 Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many  
*Mésiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and  
 I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting  
 that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would  
 802 seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mésiro* tongue  
 originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed  
 the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether  
 the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and  
 have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

142 The physical make-up of the *Mésiro* is good. They are, as a  
 rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than  
 the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a  
 light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would  
 seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the for-  
 mation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had  
 neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake  
 a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is  
 safe to say that many *Mésiro* have high cheek-bones and

<sup>1</sup> A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and  
 patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly  
 all Nilotic tribes.

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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtaails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mésiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mésiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance. 142  
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The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mésiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mésiro* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mésiro* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mésiro* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Méiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes. 221

The majority of the *Méiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'el-Kisale I have not met with *Méiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Méiro* in the vicinity of Lo'akumai. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu'm-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Méiro*, but are *Arantika*. 10/36

Many *Il-Méiro* are members by adoption of the 'L-Ain and *Il-Méiro* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Mawmas* family of the *Il-Méiro* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Méiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odorous "dog-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Méiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence. 342 [182]

R. A. J. MACQUEEN.

(To be continued)

## IL-TORÓBO

## PART II

*Il-Aramanik*

I must confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are 114  
the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting  
information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting  
the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan"  
of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen<sup>1</sup> by  
occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they 101  
live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo 197  
methods of life. They differ from the *Balodge* only inasmuch  
as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a  
language of their own. This language (for examples of which 147  
see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common  
objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Méiro*.<sup>2</sup> I have had  
personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse  
with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Méiro*  
and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named *Serkala*, of Moipo, gave me the follow- 173  
ing bold account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We came  
from Kigogo,<sup>3</sup> from a hole there used to be therein but which has  
since closed up, near *Ol-dolupo-le-Lepisick*. We came south  
with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around  
*Moita* and *Ol-citip*, but have now come down here to Moipo.  
Others of us went north to the *Serenget* plain. We are not  
Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. J. Stephenson, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruwac river valley.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Masai*, W. M. H. (Berlin, 1905), p. 109 et seq. I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Méiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> The *Aramanik* name for Kigogo. See p. 131 in *Journal* for January 1928.

193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Kyusi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.<sup>1</sup> Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,<sup>2</sup> are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaaga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

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The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.<sup>3</sup> They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanja, Sakel and Peiaya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.<sup>4</sup> They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Méiro*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 131, loc. cit. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

<sup>2</sup> About 4000 in number.

<sup>3</sup> I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

<sup>4</sup> According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

## II-TURBO

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tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Méiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigil*. The *Méiro* call it *kirigil*. [72]

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Méiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me. 193

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the T-Otta, Furko and O-Otokituk Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory. 194

As in the case of the *II-Méiro*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*. [77]

The Masai smiths (*II-Kwéso*)<sup>\*</sup> had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kwéso* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far. 101

*II-Kishorda ; II-Kisagara*<sup>\*</sup>

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

<sup>\*</sup> See Mecher: *Die Masai*, p. 237. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

<sup>\*</sup> Mainly drawn from the *II-Kipendai* family of the *II-Méiro* clan (Kishorda).

<sup>\*</sup> The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people. 197 [144]

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balega* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves. 101

#### DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Môira*.) 411 [328]

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balega* and *Kinyalega* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears. [177] •

The bow (*Awanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Oi-perôwe* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown. [824] [386]

412 differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *ruagw*.<sup>1</sup> 411 This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting [87] weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among 526 themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound [57] produced thereby.

415 A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used 177 to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), 482 by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

#### THE MÓSIRO AND ARAMANIK LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

194 The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *g* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

' denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

~ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo<sup>h</sup>*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

<sup>1</sup> This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is 194  
so open as almost to sound like the *o* in the English *father*.

\* denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ííí*, the *í* is pronounced like the *e* in the English *fat*.

• beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound.  
•, •, • and • in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity 802  
between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be 197  
apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *hindei* can be said to resemble *ahéngé* or *opei*.

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik* *two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the 192  
same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other 197  
corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajíí*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once.

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. [197] •  
There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again.

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be 192  
regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* 197  
verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult 198  
to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining.

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

192 Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they  
 197 were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional  
 198 proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are  
 very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro*  
 and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think  
 that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by  
 conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The  
 language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure  
 Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, con-  
 siderably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai  
 and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each  
 other if brought face to face.

126 The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound  
 extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the differ-  
 ence in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated  
 by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the  
*Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that "ye want"  
 [193] and "they want" are more or less the same to him. He rarely  
 troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds  
 good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating  
 between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to  
 elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer  
 and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and  
 unscientific paper of this nature.

| No. | Somali | Masai                           | Latuka   | Nandi             | Turkana        | Suk               | <i>Mósiro</i> | <i>Aramasik</i> |
|-----|--------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1   | Kan    | Óbo; m.<br>Nabo; f.             | Abodi    | Ahenge            | Epel           | Ohadg             | Ahadg         | Kindel          |
| 2   | Laba   | Aare; m.<br>Áre; f.             | Arrega   | Achig or<br>Oteig | Ngare          | Oghidg            | Am'           | Laan            |
| 3   | Sadeh  | Okuni; m.<br>Umi; f.            | Guniggo  | Sonok             | Ngurai         | Sonok             | Sónok         | Sanak           |
| 4   | Aftr   | Ongwan; m.<br>Ongwan; f.        | Angon    | Afgwan            | Némwon         | Afgwan            | Afgwan        | Ongwan          |
| 5   | Ehan   | Imyet                           | Niyet    | Mut               | Ekan           | Mit               | Mott          | Imyet           |
| 6   | Leh    | Ile                             | Ede      | Ile or<br>Kulle   | Ekan<br>kapei  | Mut ngó<br>Ochogb | Ela           | Ile             |
| 7   | Tadob  | Ocpishana; m.<br>Nacpishana; f. | Attarit  | Tiap              | Ekan<br>gare   | Mut ngó<br>Oghidg | Sai'          | Nacpishana      |
| 8   | Sided  | Iayet                           | Ottégoni | Salit             | Egnigwan       | Mut ngó<br>Sonok  | Iayet         | Iayet           |
| 9   | Sagal  | Óudo; m.<br>Naudo; f.           | Ótongon  | Sohol             | Ekan<br>kumwon | Mut ngó<br>Afgwan | Endorol'      | Endorol'        |
| 10  | Toben  | Tomon                           | Tomon    | Taman             | Tomon          | Mut ngó<br>Taman  | Taman         | Tomon           |

[127] The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Elliot's introduction to *The Masai: their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Bosch respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramasik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

- The final g is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.
- Six, seven, eight and nine in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Bosch).
- Sai is also used by the Masai for nine (p. xv, introduction to Morier's *Die Masai*).
- The Masai also use Endorol' for nine.

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have lived in the country of the Kiteto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world. 171 538

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mosiwo*. 538 177

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category. 771 171

The *Mosiwo* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.<sup>1</sup> No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes. 825 784 [224]

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.<sup>2</sup> 825

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action. 685 754 577

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balaŋga* and no *Kinyalaŋgal* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balaŋga* or *Kinya-* 177

<sup>1</sup> See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

- 177 *laŋgat* who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and 'I-Oikop, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and 'I-Oikop respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Moipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-suŋuko L'oltatwa<sup>1</sup> and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Moipo and Lo-'sokonoi. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a [197] distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put [114] forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Balaŋga*.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mósiro* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mósiro* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mósiro* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mósiro*, who are lazy but far from uncivilisable.

- 194 I believe the *Mósiro* to have been very closely allied to the Nandi at one time, if they were not pure Nandi.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

<sup>1</sup> Ngorongoro localities. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Kaageju*, written about by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe (see note 1, p. 249).

<sup>2</sup> See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 2.

105 Wakuafi (Máase) do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Doróbo in contact with the southern Máase. The latest contribution to the study of the Doróbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Doróbo.  $\frac{7}{A}$

114 The actual distribution and sections of the Doróbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

*Kenya Doróbo.*

• [197]

- |                                                                  |   |                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Kámelló-Kápchepekendi.                                        | } | In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamanya, and Kipsikis. |
| 2. Lo'-l-diani.                                                  |   |                                                                            |
| 3. Ravine.                                                       |   |                                                                            |
| 4. East of Kipsikis.                                             |   |                                                                            |
| 5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiak, and Kip-kurtek, on the Mau escarpment. | } | In contact with the Máase.                                                 |
| 6. Saléta.                                                       |   |                                                                            |
| 7. Kidong.                                                       |   |                                                                            |
| 8. Digiri.                                                       | } | In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.                                    |
| 9. Sisiwek and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Usao Ng'iro).       |   |                                                                            |

*Tanganyika Doróbo.*

10. Taturu,<sup>1</sup> lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.<sup>2</sup>
12. Aramanik.<sup>3</sup>

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Doróbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Doróbo is uncertain. Those of the Kámelló-Kápchepekendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Máase and Nandi traditions point to the Doróbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 188; G. W. B. H. in *Nen*, 1928, 120.

<sup>2</sup> R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Toróbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 249.

$\frac{7}{A}$  [See source number 2, this file--Analyst]

174 set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

• [177]

- (1) That the Dorobo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Māsae, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.
- (2) That the Dorobo are part of the parent-stock of the Māsae-Nandi group.
- (3) That the Dorobo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

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To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorobo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Māsae. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorobo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk<sup>1</sup> is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorobo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorobo, if both Dorobo and Suk were early offshoots from the Nandi Sub-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorobo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Māsae? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorobo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

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In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,<sup>2</sup> Bōni,<sup>3</sup> and Ariangulu.<sup>4</sup> These tribes are of a very primitive description.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Endo, and Marakwet.

<sup>2</sup> A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 36, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. Salkeld in *Man*, 1906, 94.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. M. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1922, p. 21.

## the Kámólló-Káphéplandi Doróbo (Oikik) of Kenya Colony.

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prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Doróbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*lúto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kíphéfinik* (N). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chéphókútúit*,<sup>1</sup> N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terénik-ap-tumatet*, or *kweénik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kípawuit* (N. *kípawit*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.<sup>2</sup>

The women

## Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Doróbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbarot*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiket*, or *paiket*; N. *pák*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

## Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males*.—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of quiker (*ngemwugo*,<sup>3</sup> N.) called *akuriet*; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,<sup>3</sup> pl. *mpitikoiki*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.<sup>3</sup> Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engerait*) are worn, of blue quiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirindo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asinguit*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriatt* and *kimeitait* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimeitait*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females*.—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chépháiguit*; N. *chépháwit*) and upper garments (*kóliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*mákirarénik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaitiek*, N.). Married women wear

<sup>1</sup> *Chéphókútúit* means "snuff" in Nandi.<sup>2</sup> These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.<sup>3</sup> As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Doróbo.

*the Kémetto-Képephendi Dorobo (Oikik) of Kenya Colony.*

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*Names.*

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.<sup>1</sup> At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," e.g. a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kiminiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

*Circumcision. (Tum,\* N.)*

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

*Marriage.*

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisick*) made of the skin of the tiniest monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

*Death.*

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyenas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

*Miscellaneous.*

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "Kongoi," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

*Salutations:—*

- (a) Of greeting:—To men, "Sopai"; answer, "Cham-ke" (health). To girls and women, "Tákwanya"; answer, "Igá."  
 (b) Of farewell:—"Saisere" (good-bye); answer, "Saisere ok inye" (good-bye to thee), or, "Saisere ok okwek" (good-bye to you).

Except "Cham-ke" as the answer to "Sopai," these are the same as in Nandi.

<sup>1</sup> The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kuinet op oit*), which, however, are seldom used.

# The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD, B. Sc.

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## I. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

<sup>1</sup> This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tindiret Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD and the late Dr. C. G. SELIGMAN, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. COCKMAN and E. G. WHITTALL for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

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are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HORLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiet*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

| Group          | Horde          | Now or formerly in contact with | Territory  |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| I. Western *   | 1. Kipkurerek  | Nandi                           | Kenya      |
|                | 2. Tindiret    | Nandi                           | Kenya      |
|                | 3. Lo-l-diani  | Nandi                           | Kenya      |
|                | 4. Ravine      | Nandi, Tuken, Keyo              | Kenya      |
|                | 5. Western Mau | Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae          | Kenya      |
|                | 6. Eastern Mau | Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae          | Kenya      |
| II. Central *  | 7. Dundule     | Masae                           | Kenya      |
|                | 8. Saleta      | Masae                           | Kenya      |
|                | 9. Kidong      | Masae, Kikuyu                   | Kenya      |
|                | 10. Digiri     | Masae, Kikuyu                   | Kenya      |
| III. Eastern * | 11. Kipima     | Masae                           | Kenya      |
|                | 12. Mt. Kenya  | Masae, Kikuyu                   | Kenya      |
| IV. Southern : | 13. Mosiro     | Masae                           | Tanganyika |
|                | 14. Aramanik.  | Masae                           | Tanganyika |

\* I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.

\* Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.

\* Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HORLEY (1905).

[13] Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

[133] We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Arian-gulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI<sup>th</sup> dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

[144] However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race<sup>a</sup>. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

[10] From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve<sup>a</sup>. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

<sup>a</sup> HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

<sup>a</sup> I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

### Appendix

#### Analysis of the Census

| District | Single men | Married men | Women | Male children | Female children | Totals |
|----------|------------|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|--------|
| Kipkorom | 8          | 6           | 15    | 10            | 10              | 49     |
| Soniyo   | 22         | 19          | 26    | 16            | 19              | 102    |
| Kelpul   | 25         | 19          | 17    | 9             | 5               | 75     |
|          | 55         | 44          | 58    | 35            | 34              | 226    |

#### Analysis of Domicile Categories

| Domicile category | Kipkorom | Soniyo | Kelpul | % of Total | Totals |
|-------------------|----------|--------|--------|------------|--------|
| A                 | 0        | 13     | 0      | 6          | 13     |
| B                 | 33       | 59     | 46     | 61         | 138    |
| C                 | 16       | 24     | 17     | 25         | 57     |
| D                 | 0        | 3      | 12     | 7          | 15     |
| Unknown           | 0        | 3      | 0      | 1          | 3      |
|                   | 49       | 102    | 75     | 100        | 226    |

621  
622 who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

[604]  
594 The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

862 Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and 854 the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do 593 her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot 522 conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba*<sup>10</sup> the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-getting is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

593 The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[177] <sup>10</sup> The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

867 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's  
868 brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it  
869 depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

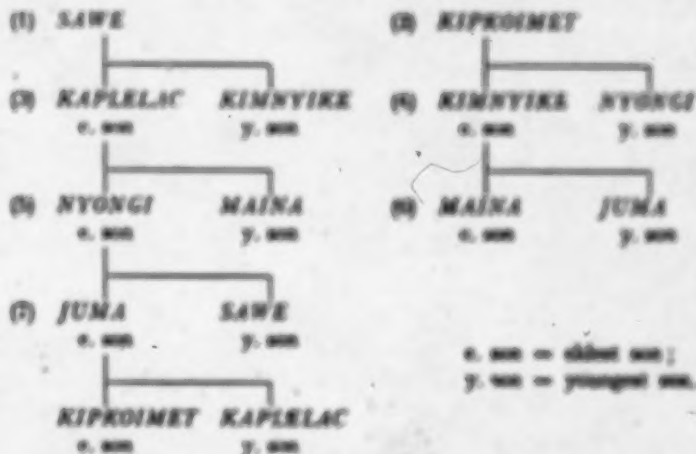
## 2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[562] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinnahik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Maase, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

The Duraho have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipchoimet, Kaplelac, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe*.

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to older sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the eldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and those of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1930, they became the active and responsible members of Duraho society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1930, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1930 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

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| 1938         | 1939     | Age |
|--------------|----------|-----|
| 1 Sawe       | Kiphalac | 65  |
| 4 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 5 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 6 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 7 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 8 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 9 Kiphalac   | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 10 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 11 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
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| 22 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 23 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 24 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 25 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 26 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 27 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 28 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 29 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 30 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 31 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 32 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 33 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
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| 90 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
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| 92 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 93 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 94 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 95 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 96 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 97 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 98 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 99 Kiphalac  | Kiphalac | 60  |
| 100 Kiphalac | Kiphalac | 60  |

In the third column are the maximum ages in years of the sets in 1938. By 1939 there were no sets alive, and the age-sets started over again at the bottom as the name of the small boys' age-set. The times for changing are known by carefully watching the Dardho, and the Dardho regulate their age-set periods and times of circumstances by the Dardho, having no method of time-measuring of their own.

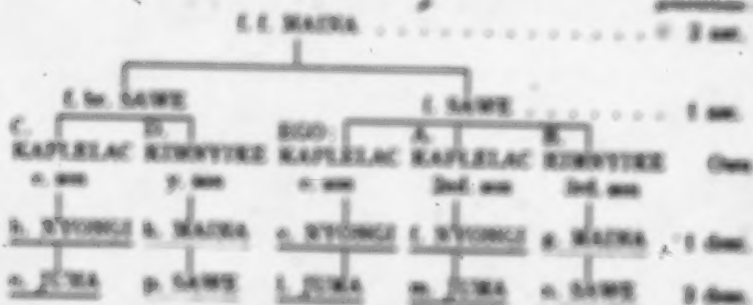
Each set is divided into three subdivisions called sustained or "low", a Dardho term, which the Dardho call

Conglath, the senior subdivision;

Tepark or Kiphalac, the middle subdivision;

Kiphalac or Kiphalac, the junior subdivision.

These "low" seem to have no particular function among the Dardho, but to have taken over along with the rest of the system when the Dardho borrowed it from the Dardho, among whom the age-sets have first and foremost a military function in which the "low" have a definite part. To the Dardho the behavior aspect, however important it may be in practice, is secondary. But the Dardho are not a fighting people and have no sort of military organization, and the adoption of an age-set system causes their patterns of behavior may, under certain conditions, be transferred from kinship to age-set stratification, the function of the age-set being reduced to one of behavior alone. A new stratification of the society is thus introduced, which has to work in with the existing kinship stratification:



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Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *kuu kuuu* she is *spitting* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both laughing them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

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Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkoros, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, at *kuu kuu* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbor's hut. His father in law Kado used to live at Cepkanyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipkoros; but in July 1929 he moved to Kipkoros, as his son Loli was working on Kaphorus Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kado and his wife in a main *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Durabo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Loli, a Maize, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore comes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipkoros to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkanyuk taught her children to like Loli, who would greet them by saying *kuu kuu*, *kuu kuu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *kuu kuu*, *kuu kuu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *kuu kuu*, *kuu kuu* ("Hailing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Loli never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kinetai did; and his share in their training was very small.

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#### IV. The Clan

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The clan, *oot*, plural *otitok*, is an cognative patrilineal group with a name and a totem, fixed up *oot*, or simply *Shade*, "the animal [of the clan]". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the names; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Durabo origin. Some of these names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1) a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

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descriptive, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its attributes. Each clan corresponds to a Nandi clan, with the exception that one, the Kapokoi, corresponds to both Nandi Kipikoko and Moi, and that the Dorobo have also a clan called Moi corresponding to Nandi Moi. This apparent confusion indicates that the Dorobo have borrowed the Nandi clan nomenclature and added it to their own clan system without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deep-seated a part of their organization. The lax appreciation of the significance of the clan animal has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

## A. Attested by genealogies and census

| Name by which commonly known in Dorobo | Corresponding to Nandi (given also by Tindiret) | Name                                   | Animal (totem or clan animal)                     |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Kapokoi                             | Kipikoko<br>Moi                                 | subsidiary name of Nandi clan Kipikoko | Antelope <sup>a</sup>                             |
| 2. Moi                                 | Moi                                             | Nandi corresponding clan               | 1. Antelope<br>2. ant <sup>a</sup><br>3. Kipikoko |
| 3. Kipikoko                            | Kipikoko                                        | Nandi clan                             | Antelope                                          |
| 4. Kipamui                             | Kipamui                                         | Nandi clan                             | Antelope                                          |
| 5. Kapil                               | Kipikoi                                         | subsidiary name of Nandi clan          | Antelope                                          |
| 6. Toiyui                              | Toiyui                                          | Nandi clan                             | Antelope                                          |
| 7. Korapor                             | Tungo                                           | subsidiary name of Nandi clan          | Antelope                                          |

## B. Attested by genealogy from Tindiret

|          |       |            |          |
|----------|-------|------------|----------|
| 8. Talai | Talai | Nandi clan | Antelope |
|----------|-------|------------|----------|

The following are reputed to exist or to have existed, though I came across no members of them, either in person or in genealogies; the names were mentioned to me, however, in 1927:

9. Kipengui, corresponding to the Nandi Kamwetike, of which Kipengui is a subsidiary name; totem, kangaroo.
10. Kipasio, corresponding to Nandi Kipasio; totem, antelope.

<sup>a</sup> Animals marked thus " do not correspond to the Nandi clan-animals.

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11. Kungut, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkuniting; totem, *kipsukeriet*.\*

The clan-animals are: *Amwayet*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *soet* in Nandi; *kipsukeriet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *Amukhet*, baboon, called *moet* in Nandi; *amwaye*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *amwaye*, Nandi *eyetkiet*; *twet*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *twet*, Nandi *twet*; *ropia*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimeroket*, hyena, called *kimeroket* in Nandi; *owohit*, lion, called *akwado* in Nandi; *cameroket*, partridge, called *teiyet* in Nandi; *asiet*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipsukeriet*, snake, called *erwet* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *wet* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tioed ap wet*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne erwet*? "what is your wet?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ne tioed ap erwet*? "what is the animal of your wet?" Clan-fellowship is considered as *tilionet*, relatives; marriage within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Oranyon*, or else as *Ar i aka*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clan-fellows.

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There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cio makione kile, kione tiokit tulet* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all [other] animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

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Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of *Moi*. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kilionet cepio nepo Moi iego po ket aka ne murep horet aka a makhoni tiliet; nepo kilionet nepo tioed aka, mapile* ("A man of *Moi* may marry a girl of *Moi* if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the *Moi* clan has three totems, so that

- one whose totem is *Konguyet* may marry one with *Soiet* or *Kipkamoiet*;
- one whose totem is *Soiet* may marry one with *Konguyet* or *Kipkamoiet*;
- one whose totem is *Kipkamoiet* may marry one with *Soiet* or *Konguyet*.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom *Moi-Moi* marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a *Konguyet* man married a *Soiet* girl.

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There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. *Kungut*, for instance, may marry *Kapoket*, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan. 614  
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## V. Marriage

### 1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details<sup>11</sup>. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masai in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masai or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi<sup>12</sup>. 881  
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Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkanyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirui and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1926-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation. 881  
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In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*sum*) is that it makes

<sup>11</sup> See his book "The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 53-60.

<sup>12</sup> This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outsider groups.

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent. 584

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be. [177]

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle. [587]

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum*<sup>10</sup> by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride 585

<sup>10</sup> *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily "circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, "excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of "ceremony". [192]

## 7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) 551 porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *hainet ap cesowiloh* (or, *oiik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner: 553 787

|                  | Porridge-name:             | Spirit-name:      |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Father's father: | Kipoo                      |                   |
| Father:          | Kimining                   |                   |
| Himself:         | Kimopo                     | Kipoo             |
| His son:         | Tiongoi                    | Kimining          |
| His son's son:   | not yet (will be):<br>born | Kimopo<br>Tiongoi |

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name. 553

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*hainet am musareh*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikurin Sioncu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system. 551 [177] •

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetuny, "lionkiller". 852

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(4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

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On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

### 8. Marriage with Nandi

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Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

- 5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women ;
- 2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women ;
- 10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men ;
- 1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi ; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

## The Political Organization of the Dorobo 880

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD, B. Sc.

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### 1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo<sup>1</sup> were originally in contact with the Masae before the Nandi appeared on the scene<sup>2</sup>, nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are. [48]

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

<sup>1</sup> For the first part of this study, see *Anthropos* 46. 1951. pp. 1-48.

<sup>2</sup> When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Mining used these words: *Ngut hepua tum Ohiot heny homehomi Nandiek, hepua ah Iphnapah*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisers for the Uasin Gishu Masae before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *hepua* is plural, and the apparent subject *Ohiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realize its significance. [124] [114]

177 in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAFF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai"<sup>3</sup>, there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

177 A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

177 The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

177 From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[114] <sup>3</sup> Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAFF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

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439 terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

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114 When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

## 2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

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182 The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

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[887] The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper<sup>4</sup>, and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenih* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

<sup>4</sup> Anthropos 46, 1951. pp. 38-41.

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan.

Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpul, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

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These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinnuek* (sing. *korot*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *korot* had its council, *kiruoket*, with a leader or spokesman, *kirukindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kirukindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepla kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kirukindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

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In 1939 no *korot* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kirukindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kirukindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kirukindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kirukindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kirukindet* of Meteitei was Ncasas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kirukindet*, and he was really no more than a *primus inter pares* who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

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These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *korot* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

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I noticed That when Dorobo

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *hirukindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kernoc ualek si hesic ce miyac ah ce yac, si kokas pih tukul. Ingoesio cli ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *hirukindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesovilo*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemisiriit*, is his arm, *as meiyi jik*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since. 776 [773]

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *heliot* bush\*. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *heliot* poison, like that man of old. 776 773

Besides *Asista*, *Araua*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi*\*, and this term includes the beings called *oikh* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik* *hopotok oikh*, *ahenge tukul*, *hikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oikh*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oikh* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oikh* (the good) and *musambuanik* (the bad). 776 775

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for 775 [825] [822]

\* *Acucanthera* Schimper.

\* It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo. [777]

\* The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowiloi*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowiloh*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (C. Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

\* This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit". [777]

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill. 182  
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Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1939 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslatable word *comiet*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words: 825

*Sue heliek cepo tukul. Come Ohiek si hoowen*  
They-know the-foet which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see  
*tionik. Ma yaacen tionik, amu kimenye tukul huahenge samakia.*  
the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.  
*Ngomnot ap tionik ma uu nepo plc, ako ma loo, amu nomen*  
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent  
*ok icek tionik. Kerke tukul tiond ap samak. Kiome alah, makiome*  
also they the-animals. Like every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not  
*alah; ako kicome tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.*  
others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which-(are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*. 776  
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But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *casowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepyuwet* against the evil eye, *verendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known: These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors. 775  
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Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ia)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Araua* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection. 775  
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The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

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182 A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

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[77] It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion<sup>12</sup>, and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

<sup>12</sup> As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

*hopotok. Kiinde tapot hut korurio. Peni-s ehasieh ce can si korurio* 273  
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may.

*hut hoieh maiyek. Kiie.*  
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lohomet*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation.

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

- |        |   |                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hunter | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Own family.</li> <li>2. Own parents.</li> <li>3. Wife's parents.</li> <li>4. Fellow hunters.</li> </ol> |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

262  
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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magic-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep, but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *Arwaki* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo<sup>2</sup>, like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59, 1929, p. 278.

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 in. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mont* and *rewood*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *treant*, *alipant*, *laphant*, *laphant*, and *maruta*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot burning-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, bees are threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slit barrel, not so common as the dog-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slabs of strong bark, the *mont* and *rewood* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed

of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slabs are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with limes, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dog-out type (Fig. 1, 2).



Fig. 1. Dog-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it<sup>23</sup>. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather monotonous, high-pitched tone:

*Sohem, sohem, or mil co sohema tahel, we paet<sup>24</sup> sayee, sohela,*  
*lhee, lhee, who are in country there all, come here<sup>25</sup> now, put in (honey).*  
*sohela<sup>26</sup>.*  
*put-in (honey).*

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

<sup>23</sup> New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes crowded. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

<sup>24</sup> This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *lupae ye*, "come here".

<sup>25</sup> The Kandi have borrowed this formula, and altered it to *lupae sohela tahel* let us follow, "come ye, your wax into the warm hut".

The Domestic Life of the Maori

63



Fig. 1. A Maori boat on a spring. The way the boat is "springing". The boat is on the spring and is in a position to spring up and down. It is a simple device, the spring is a piece of wood, the boat is a piece of wood, and the spring is a piece of wood.

when an animal lands on it, allowing the boat to dip over the top and then release the boat with it.

During parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common party was for half the party to walk along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, there on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it over a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or the exchange with the Maori for clothes and other. A stack of dried meat (probably about 1 lb. apiece) was sold for about 10 lbs. of grain. What is not too large (or, when convenient) which are laid out on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoked after being dried on the rack of a hut or in the back of a tent.

4. Agriculture

Once they ran no longer hunt, and ground conditions were favorable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (from the Maori had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Maori. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place gradually between the years 1887 and 1900. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their land was, as we have seen, to a great deal extended as agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the seasons of the agricultural year are:

- January to April: preparation of the land.
- April-May: planting.
- September: reaping.

\* The same is the year 1900 in.

241 [23] The planting and weeding periods vary according to the rains and early or late. Between these there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Durio grow two main crops, *jit* or *peit*, *chender* *chender* (commonly known in Europe as *jackfruit*), a short grassy plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *chender*, *maier*. Wheat had not been adopted by 1928 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be brought from the coast. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *reputat*, are grown in a small extent.

242 [24] Implements are confined to the hoe (pushed), axe (piled), and ordinary knife (pushed or pulled), though the use of the jump or *chender* spreading, the *chender* (made by *chender* cutting) and *jump* (made by *chender*) are got from the coast in exchange for *chender*, *maier*, or *chender*. The *chender*, though used by the coast had not been adopted by the Durio in 1928.

243 [25] The ground is prepared in the same way as by the coast. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and *chender*; it is left standing for several days and the best earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of *maier* and *chender* is brought from any coast who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous speculators on the weekly fairs\*. The Durio get two bushels in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but *maier* and *chender* are planted together in the same plot so that the *chender* grows up between the *maier* plants. *Maier* has time to be sown earlier than is really possible, but it is a coast habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening space are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clear, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

244 [26] Each *chender* is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and *chender*, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or shrubs are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of several upright poles, like the gate of a coast *chender* enclosure, but usually the line of fence is continuous, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the fence.

245 [27] *Chender* is sown in the coast fashion by sowing all the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the *chender* is to be planted again. *Maier* is sown by hand, but in 1928 it was largely sown on the hill as the soil developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1928, however, some Durio at Singapore, noticing the European practice of sowing *maier* in rows before it is ripe, not and sowed their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose crops

\* A. S. S. is a "native name" being as a term under which with the English.

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dande had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stack is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipsira people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stacked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stacks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dande eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (jilinde), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (wawandi) for the children, and stiff porridge (kivai) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (jagweli) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dande, it is true, have built granaries of Wandji type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Wandji, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dande said they bought it from the Wandji.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

| Men:                   | Boys:   | Women:                       |
|------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| Heavy preliminary work | Digging |                              |
| Planting               | Weeding | Collecting and burning weeds |
|                        | Reaping |                              |

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Wandji manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dande had not by 1939 acquired the Wandji belief that such eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

\* The bag is the standard 2 1/2 lb. gerry bag used in East Africa, holding 250 lbs. of maize.

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[561]

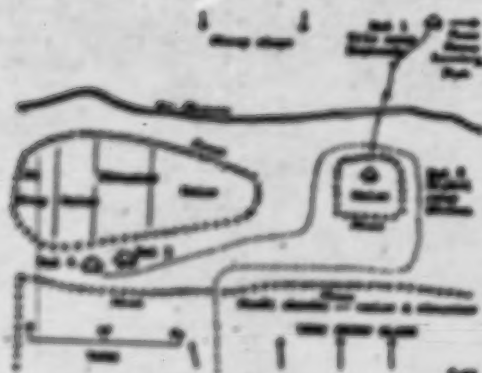


Fig. 4. Plan of a Dorset Shanty at Kipdun alongside a Handi Shanty.

at Kipdun in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by moorhens, pigs, and a sort of mole called *hormat*, that the original shanties had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorset has a shanty all to himself; more often, however, several people and in some cases Dorsets share part of a leased shanty with Handi (Fig. 4).

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Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Tachon for Tachon, as the Dorsets call it, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *hormat*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorsets lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who owned over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorset now lives there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorsets all gathered earth to the Handi, who pay them at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *hormat*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes *hormat* oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *hormat*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

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[425]

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485  
[52]  
777

#### c) Cattle

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[77]  
[71]  
[52] If the Dorsets had not been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have continued themselves with agriculture and no few stock. But their relations with the Tach have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. Red

(they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arop Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arop Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *corvus*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minia became the friend of a Nandi at Olkaria called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he brought with him from the mountains. *Ar. Minia* is the friend of a Nandi at Kapoyet in Nandi, and shot *sisia* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are lent for him by a Nandi named Kipkisir arap Serem on Farm 1679: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi were willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-price.

Purchases. The Wandl do not sell cattle to the Durbo except as just mentioned, that is, in the form of bridepayment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Durbo do not seem to care about sheep, for [29]

At the time of their move in 1927 the Duraho were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

- [231] The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minis regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minis has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *Acoonger*.
- [186]
- [487]
- [361]

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate a little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and occupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *kovussek* were occupied there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nanshi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboron. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs<sup>22</sup>.

114 <sup>22</sup> This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.<sup>1</sup>

(The Labwor, The Wanderobo, the Dodotho and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(WITH PLATES XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. WAYLAND.

## 1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is portage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

<sup>1</sup> Nomenclature adopted.—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 180. Karomojo = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamoja.

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114D  
A  
[121]D  
A  
[177]

[104]

D  
A  
114  
[177]

become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being extinguished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

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Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected: great lacunae remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

[191]

The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiwahili, for no English, or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Karamojan folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiwahili from the troops (14th King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Abyssinian and other raiders. I had two such men in my caravan and an official Karamojong-Kiwahili interpreter: the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many such occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings convened with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required: but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, whenever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced; for I had visited Karamoja on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1920 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1925 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Jok*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the hand of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

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122

Anthropometric data were collected whenever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to see every individual measured.

Karamoja was entered by an unusual route—one which, as far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Apala, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

*Physical Characteristics.*—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

*The Village.*—The Wanderobo village (*chwe*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko*, *yakui*) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 20), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; 361 342

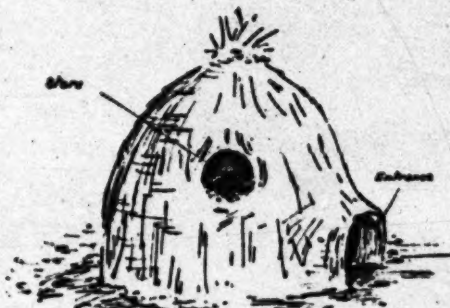


FIG. 20.—AN WANDEROBO HUT (*Yakui*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

*Dress and Adornment.*—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that cicatrization, apart from the *seyran*, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

*Livestock.*—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 177

*Agriculture.*—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*lotob*). In addition to this they grow a little semsem (*nunem*), Indian corn (*nyaburrigi*), and millet (*ripp*). A form of 241

/58 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Keriita, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In this Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only.

D  
174  
144N  
D  
197D  
[191]D  
[177]N  
D  
192  
197

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

#### 77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Keritta on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Keritta.

/68 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

611  
591  
595  
613  
769  
[775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

881  
561  
[177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

622  
623  
[171]  
648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

776  
771  
778  
[881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

101  
[628]  
[166]

Nov. 17-18.]

MAN.

[1903.]

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Man Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, etc. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "ei," "li," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggik or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

G. W. HOBLEY.

No. 21.]

MAN.

[1905.]

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pū swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggik tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongiboro who lives near Nyiri Sta. She is married to one Sikiri, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggik language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggik language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggik had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggik, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggik words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggik roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggik clans:—

| CLAN.                                                | CHIEF.         | CLAN.                                                           | CHIEF.      |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Oggik of Kamille<br>or Tindirit - -                  | Kipangitia.    | Oggik on the Mas<br>range, west of Ka-<br>kura - - -            | Kipkurerek. |
| Oggik, east of Lum-<br>bwa country - -               | Pikabom.       | Do. do. - -                                                     | Kamiek.     |
| Oggik in Eldama<br>Ravine - - -                      | Kakimengiria.  | Oggik, south-west<br>Kenia and also Pū<br>swamp - - -           | Digiri.     |
| Oggik, north of<br>Kenia - - -                       | Sisiwet.       | Oggik of Kisima,<br>north of EnasoNyire                         | Lalariek.   |
| Oggik of Loldiani -                                  | Kaivatet.      | Oggik, south of Nda-<br>mbi plain, south-<br>west of Kaivasha - | Salet.      |
| Oggik on the Mas<br>range, west of Ka-<br>kura - - - | Chibcharwanek. |                                                                 |             |

The head Lalbon of the Oggik is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Mariko, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongiboro who is said to live near Nyiri or Kakerys in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hallie for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

[P. 184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on 614  
 clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially  
 patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as  
 well as the age-set names, and many of the  
 relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but  
 here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the  
 social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The  
 whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact,  
 dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and 182  
 in close contact with a forest produces a consider- 137  
 able effect on people, which differentiates them  
 from those who live in open country; and the  
 influence of the forest is felt particularly by the  
 children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which  
 obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, [361]  
 just large enough to hold two or three huts.
2. The continual presence of large trees,  
 inescapable when the children are young.

[P. 185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.<sup>1</sup> All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 32  
(55)  
(165)

## II

## THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

## A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601  
(171)

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

## 'First Ascending Generation.

- (1) F., M. = *BABA*, *eiyo*.
- (2) M.Br., M.Br.W. = *MAMA*, *mama*.
- (3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H. = *eiyo*, *BABA*, as F. and M.
- (4) F. Br., F. Br. W. = *BABA*, *eiyo*. "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.
- (5) F.Sis. = *pukot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.
- (6) F. Sis. H. = *konyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

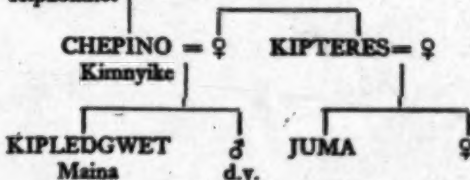
<sup>1</sup> So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P. 188, B]

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clanmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,

KIRUWAI = ♀

Kipkoimet



Kiplengwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

- (1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as **MACHOKOR**.
- (2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as **KESENDA**.
- (3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as **APAA**.
- (4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as **MAMA**.
- (5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are **AGWI**.
- (6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

*B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.*

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *lockogget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

#### D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minig, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable.

D  
K  
425 Dorobo got a right to goat-meat and the Kikuyu a right to cultivate, because they had become brothers in one family. But according to Dorobo law it did not give the Kikuyu any right to purchase land (in any sense at all) belonging to the group, though by Kikuyu law it gave the Dorobo the right to place a piece of land with the Kikuyu as security for any goats he needed, provided the Kikuyu and the mbari elders (Dorobo) both agreed. In view of the fact that Dorobo law contemplated one way only ("marriage" which was "exogamous") by which land could be transferred in anything approaching perpetuity and that transferor and transferee could not be members of the same mbari, I regard the Kikuyu statement that an adoption-rite was a preliminary to (and part and parcel of) a sale of land as a recent interpretation of what came to pass years later, rather than what was actually intended at the time, and I consider any clauses of the adoption vow which purport to refer to such a sale as sheer interpolations introduced to make the theory fit the fact of final irredeemability. Brotherhood and outright sale were incompatible. The Dorobo interviewed (some of whom had apparently taken part in adoption rites) were definite that the vows referred to brotherhood and mutual protection—nothing else.

D  
K  
[177] But a redeemable "sale" of land between Dorobo and Kikuyu cannot be ruled out, I think, although not contemplated in Dorobo law. One must suppose that some degeneration of Dorobo principles would naturally set in; while they could get the meat they wanted so much more easily the Dorobo would be loath to use the somewhat strenuous methods of their culture; their moral fibre would be weakened. Moreover, we have said that the brotherhood was unilateral, there being nothing very forceful in the evidence (Kikuyu or Dorobo) or indeed in the recorded vows to suggest that such was not the case, and this would mean a gradual supersession of Dorobo by Kikuyu law. But the change would only bring Dorobo law into closer harmony with Kikuyu; it would not involve new principles opposed to those of both, or principles repugnant to the cult of spirits, such as outright unconditioned sale. Redeemable exchange, in theory, was no exchange at all, and, though apparently unknown to the Dorobo, would scarcely violate the spirit of their laws nor yet their law of spirits.

D  
K  
425  
582 Inter-marriage is another of the methods mentioned. The marriage of a Kikuyu to a Dorobo girl, being a matrilocal marriage,

Kwafi  
Dorobo FL6  
Asa

/229/

Third Part

I.

The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

M  
184  
[77]  
The customs of the Kwafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

- M  
D  
121  
[77]  
• [77]  
1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M  
101  
184  
We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

- M  
D  
[128]  
2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D  
101  
The Asa stem from the oldest epoch, the El asiti from the middle one, and the El gasurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

[231 cont.]

to dehony, i.e., hut of the unmarried men, in contrast to the ajia to dahna, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into hut of the married and hut of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Miami.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the farm itself, resembles that of the Miami in furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madji, madjijig), a gourd bottle (agag) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (dehony, dehony) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndam, ndamwiji) for women, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idag, idag) and smaller ones (nyaga, nyaga) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (nyag), a rope cut out of an animal skin (whara, wharuga) to tie up the skin meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the bachel (Adiantum digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the bacheliers hung in trees (merijig), along with a few decorated skins (chidi) that serve as beds, as well as an (hale, halewiji) and knife (gandijig), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ag

dehony /pack-holders/ of the Miami, here called laleha (lalewiji), as well as a hammer (gribig) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mad, mad), and finally that dispersed small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (chad, chad). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /hut/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

The day begins even before daylight for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and cautiously than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daylight women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a ladder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and out in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Actually the Wandering do not have definite mealtimes as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

(1980-12-1980)

12.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the  
Mand. -- Head and body hair. -- Feet. -- Fingering. -- Tanning.

439 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the various people in  
the latter lands, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent  
among the Mand. The principal reason for this is that they very rarely  
come into direct contact with the Caucasian nations, while previous to  
the Mand. (1980) they are forced to deliver to these their goods in  
exchange for, and purchase of, such goods, and for a small compensation.  
There is no question of a large trade under  
the Mand. but very little, with them, as the coastal people in reply  
designate this type of trade.

291 One therefore sees the Mand. almost entirely in their original leather  
clothing (like washed iron leather, roughing, roughing, which, in  
the end manner of wear, is identical with that of the Mand, but looks  
poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for  
the boys' and men's capes, called a rough and an skin by the Mand,  
which the Wankelins name the same, and which have no other use  
by either race because in having the skin it is too expensive because  
of its length. The roughing otherwise do not generally wear the skin  
rough, rather more often an iron made of calf skin, which they  
buy from the Mand; other men often have a coat out of the skin of  
the female black-headed animals. The upper part of the women is here  
called skin (cf. skin), as is the upper part of a (cf. roughing) of the  
Mand; by itself, while the lower one is covered after the Mand. (cf. roughing)  
called a roughing (cf. roughing). The skin is a roughing  
is here called skin and is considerably shorter than the former,  
only a little longer than the iron. (cf. roughing) were then  
as before, which, however, is general on all sides. It is obvious  
the poverty of the Mand is shown particularly among the roughing, though  
one must also consider that their desire for them is the same as the  
Mand are in, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

101  
132  
132

1913/

III.

Character of the Red, compared with that of the White.

To character the Red is general greatly resembles the White, except that the White appears more to be consistently honest as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear in their concept of the Red whom they call enemy. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Whites, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the White. The White who, however, have been living independently must not be greatly less than those who have joined the White, in that the former seem to be more honest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the White in underhandedness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the White, who are to the White their master and, in legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the White Blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the White as in that of the White. The White is also completely without rights before the White. The White appear punishable toward paying customs and military Whites. When they come into the former with White arms, without having been arrested themselves, they were White to have acted in presumed self-defense in any case two cannot arrest them of a law either by war or by order. With these exceptions, what has been said above about the White holds concerning their character traits, their hostility against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new is to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the White use the same words and formulas as the White and accompany them with the same gestures.

The formula of the one going away is White. The answer to it, White, is said in some "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, as White had replied "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food?"

[A White word meaning "the white/leaves"--analyst]

FLSB cont.

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of  
the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Aai speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on  
their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Maori, and,  
secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language."  
Its basic element is an older dialect of the Maori people, which in the  
course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two  
came from the Taroa language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Pacific  
people already extinct, that is, through mixture  
with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 When the Aai migrated into the East African group, they found here  
191 the Taroa as livestock owners and the Maori as a poor hunting people  
192 who belonged to the Taroa people. The intercourse that arose between  
all three may have brought about the adoption of Taroa words into the  
Aai language and the transformation of Aai words into a form resembling  
Taroa. This process advanced further when the Aai were displaced by  
the second band of the Maori people, and the Taroa and Maori, having  
become hunters in the mountains, became their teachers, who helped  
them develop from stock culture to hunting. This transformation of the  
Aai words is expressed particularly in the modification of the article and  
appending to the substantive one of the endings common to the Taroa  
language.

• 177 Now, since the Aai to this day are in close contact with the Maori  
191 and Maori, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more  
192 recent Maori dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found  
entry among them through the Maori mixed with Negroes. This is the  
more recent of the two admixtures.

(1913-1944)

is present in all. The bulk of the evidence is the latter. The given is affected by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The given ends upon the gift when he takes it over. The Washington error concludes that blood kinship among themselves, but only -- not, as he says, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this occasion is the one described above among the Miami. If a stranger has brought more than his and paid only part of the price, he is not bound when time is concluded blood kinship with him because he thinks that thus the donor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general correct but not  
entirely precise in the fact, but adequate.

As among the Miami, the legal view makes no distinction between stolen and unstealing, but instead between the latter and negligent homicide. A murder might be the very act to subject to blood revenge, for the occasion of which every one belonging to the family of the one murdered and to some distance also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the wrongdoer be not accused or capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, (1913) the latter is said that blood revenge, for people are in the uncomfortable state for him a command of God to let him live. To spare the life dead, however, he must pay the principal debt of the deceased one large and two small ivory rods. Negligent homicide is provided by the payment of a medium-sized ivory rod. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the man entitled to blood revenge also lived over the occasion of it is the Miami, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. (2) is the suggested payment for perpetrator is regarded as not binding, corresponding to the not affiliated of the Miami. If he had killed a blood kinship, the debt would be unpaid because the kinship is not over for revenge and the Miami would